1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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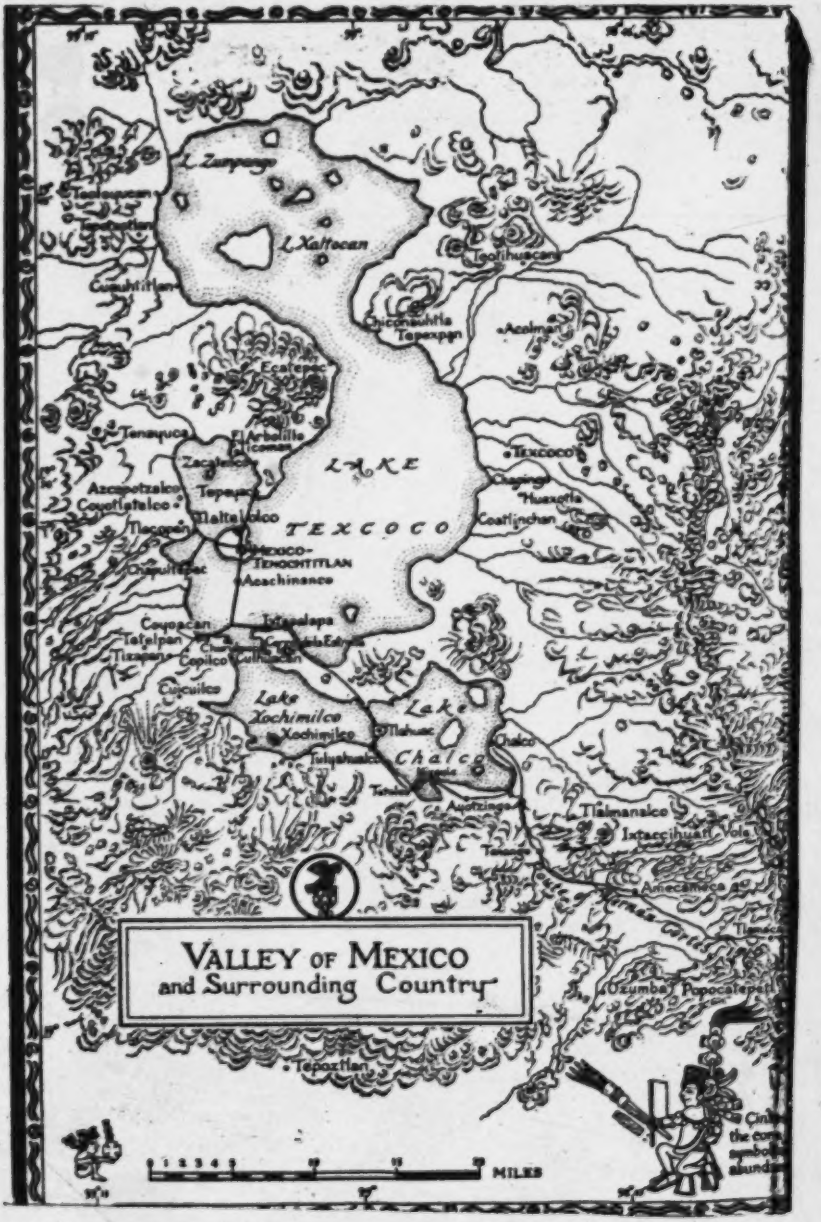

VALLEY OF MEXICO
and Surrounding Country

[END PAPER MAP(A)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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776
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[END PAPER MAP (B)]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

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491
47
503

VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
361
621

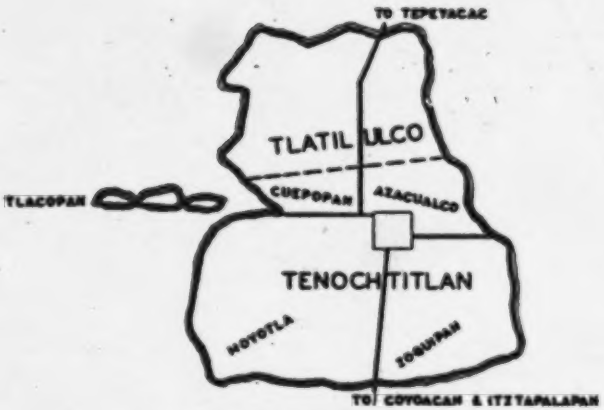

Chart showing two-fold division of the island and four-fold division of Tenochtitlan

KEY TO MAP OF TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

1. Palace of Moctezuma
2. Teocalco
3. Quauhquiacac
4. Tequixtlatco
5. Acatl yiacapan
6. Tezcacoac
7. Temple of Uitzilopochtli
8. Palace of Moctezuma the Elder
9. Tenayac
10. Coatecalco
11. Uitzilan
12. Xolloc
13. Port Xolloc
14. Atzacoaacan
15. Tequixtlatlan
16. Tequixtlatco
17. Tzapotlan
18. Axoxhicalco
19. Mixcoacchichiltlan
20. Tolteca acalcuac
21. Petlacalco
22. Popotlan
23. Copalco
24. Nextetelco
25. Iluacac
26. Ayauhcalcolitlan
27. Yaahuacco
28. Market of Tlatilulco
29. Tezcatzinlan and Tlaixcopan
30. Atecocolloccan
31. Coyonacazco and Amantac
32. Cipaltzonacayan
33. Ayacac
34. Atlicoloyan
35. Tzocco
36. Quauhxicalcan
37. Apanocaya
38. Tlaxcochcalco
39. Tzonmolopantzco and Atecpilco
40. Xochicalco and Quenchquechollan
41. Yacacalco
42. Tlilancalco and Amanpan
43. Colhuacatenco
44. Xoxotlan or Cihuatecpan
45. Tezcatzinacayan
46. Atzacualco
47. Tenanyulco

(After Orozco y Berra, with modifications suggested mainly by reference to Alfonso Caso, *Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco*. The locations of many of the places are provisional.)

[p. XVI]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

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491
361
363

TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

[p. xviii is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
103, 131

Chart of map facing page 144

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecā (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Anecuilco (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[5] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[6] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[4] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[5] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[4] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[4] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[4] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first breakthrough to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 900.
[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 899.
[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE*, 1: No. 903.
[10] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 900 and 902.
[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 896.
[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 895.
[13] *PNE*, 1: Nos. 897 and 898.
[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 879.
[15] *PNE*, 1: No. 892.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in
131 a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[30] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth
[101] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[31] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[32]

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[30] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[31] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[32] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[28] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called themselves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[29] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetizila and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[30] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[31]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[28] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[29] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[30] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[31] In a town called Chiauztepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[1] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[2] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[3]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[4] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[5] Ychcateopan,[6] Oztoma,[7] Totoltetec,[8] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[9] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[10]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[11] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[12]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
● 131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[13] Alahuiztlan

[1] *PNE*, 5: 176.
[2] *PNE*, 6: 315.
[3] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.
[4] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."
[5] *PNE*, 6: 100.
[6] *PNE*, 6: 89.
[7] *PNE*, 6: 106.
[8] *PNE*, 6: 149.
[9] *PNE*, 6: 138.
[10] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.
[11] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.
[12] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.
[13] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha guerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motezuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.[a] Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list.

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.[b] The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.[c] [712]

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.[d] [712]

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.[e]

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan.[f]

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.[g] Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan [648]

[a] *PNE*, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

[b] A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oxtmma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

[c] By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Areo de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 143–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

[d] "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

[e] "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

[f] "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

[g] "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacoxpeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinterland, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[m] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[n]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[o] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[p]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

402 bundles[q] of mantles *colchadas*[**]
402 bundles of mantles striped black and white[**]
400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)[**]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
400 bundles of little white mantles[**]
1,600 bundles of large mantles[**]
22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)[*]

FOOD

4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian*[*]
200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

[m] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuzco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[n] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[o] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[p] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[q] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified."

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves." These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed."

3. Tlachco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula,* copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino.* This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

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[566] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que cxxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE,* 6: 123).

[567] "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est[os] le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE,* 6: 317).

[568] "Relaçión de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE,* 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[a] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[b] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[c] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

291 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
248 1,206 bundles[d] of little mantles of soft henequen**
314 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huaxteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

262 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

[a] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[b] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[d] Corrected from 1,200.

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but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner, who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,[*] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State.[**]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells[**]
400 bundles of little cotton mantles[**]
21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)[*]

FOOD

4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian[*]
2,000 vessels of white salt[**]

Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave military help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they were asked."[**] No data are available on the tribute of other component towns individually.

[*] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[**] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[**] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada vez que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[28] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli*

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point.

6. Malinalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35′ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

[28] *PNF* 7: 16.

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is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[128] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[129] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[130] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[131]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[132]

[128] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[129] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenanzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiteca*, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[130] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[131] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

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MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE,* 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM,* p. 232.

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the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[9] Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli,* "sand," and *tlalli,* "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are:

Atlapulco, 11	Cuauximalpan, 7
Capulhuac, 12	Chichicquauhtla, 4
Coatepec, 14	Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13	

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[9] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.
[9] Cf. preceding note.
[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.
[11] *PNE,* 1: No. 561.
[12] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos annales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).
[14] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[28]—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen[30]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[30]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. Atotonilco de Pedraza

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28' of the *Mendocino*.[31] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

[28] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.
[29] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.
[30] See n. 111, p. 31.
[31] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 114 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpā, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.

●131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[20]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28r of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[21]

[20] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[21] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Ozuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic ce comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

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The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[28] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[29]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[30] that the people of Otlazpan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[28] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martín Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago merced a melchoir nuñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los ynlios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaxpa." Folio 11v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[29] Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468).

[30] According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

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y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacã, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocã, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocã and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[29]

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[30]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[31]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[29] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[30] *GPM*, p. 263.
[31] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

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212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[36] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[37] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[38] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[39] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[40] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[41]

[36] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.
[37] Cf. n. 35 above.
[38] *PNE,* 6: 201.
[39] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.
[40] Corrected from 400.
[41] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atenco*, now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[a] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[b] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[c] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[d] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[e] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the following towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[f]

[a] *GPM*, p. 185.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.
[c] *PNE*, 6: 36.
[d] *PNE*, 6: 205.
[e] *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.
[f] *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[a] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[a] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
400 large jars of thick maguey honey

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[b]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[a] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[b] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[c] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

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tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[80]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[81]

13. Hueypuchtla

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocā, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyā, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[80] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called Atucpan.[88] Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec[89] is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.[90] It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,[91] two long leagues southeast of Axocopan[92] and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.[93]

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan[94] and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.[95] It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.[96]

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.[97]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitlapilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was predominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.[98]

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bordered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.[99] To the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 24 and 35.
[89] The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.
[90] Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.
[91] *GPM*, p. 188.
[92] *PNE*, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.
[93] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[94] *PNE*, 6: 15.
[95] *PNE*, 6: 28.
[96] *PNE*, 3: 42.
[97] *PNE*, 6: 27.
[98] In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).
[99] "Relación de Meztitlan."

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IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55r). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México*, Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

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635 represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole
114 vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy,
[31] which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1 Ojitipa de Mirador

Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to
[651] judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description
114 of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

635 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell
105 many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

[3] *PNE*, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tamboloa"—now a rancho of Valles.
[4] Meade, *La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.
[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI:275.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

> ... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[b]

2,010 bundles[c] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[c] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[b]

400 loads of dried *azi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[b]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of *azi*
9 jars of honey
... maize

[a] *ENE*, 10: 126. [b] Corrected from 2,000. [c] Corrected from 800.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[a]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coxcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Coxcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
● 131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communications with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[a] *FNE*, 1: No. 424.
[b] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 193, and *FNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em-

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[32] *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 36–42.
[33] *PNE*, 6: 189–192.
[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tuxpan* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.
[35] Valdéspez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

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635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[84] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[85] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[86]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[87] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[88] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[89]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

2911 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

[84] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[85] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huasteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[87] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[89] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

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16. Tuchpa

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[86] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to Lehmann.[87] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[88]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[89]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[86] See Introduction, p. 7.

[87] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[88] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[89] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma nasçiese ni eredase este rreyno no estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron bríamente á monteçuma."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[a]

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[b] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[c]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[d]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[d]
400 bundles of loincloths[d]
808 bundles[e] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[d]

[a] RHE, 1: 487.
[b] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín ...* (1943).
[c] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[d] Corrected from 800.

[1] [p. 58.—Analyst] [2] [p. 56.—Analyst]

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Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mantles, little peppers, maize, and chili.[a]

17. Atlan

Sources of the Map

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53' of the *Codex Mendocino*, appears a province of two towns, the second such province which we have encountered.[b] In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they are identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only.[c] Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan."[d]

Nature of the Province

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "... otra capitania ... a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ...."[e]

[a] RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."
[b] Cf. Malinalco, above.
[c] *FNE*, 3: 97.
[d] *ENE*, 8: 160.
[e] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

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635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles" of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.

To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.

131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

" Corrected from 400.

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Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación.[a]

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"[b] finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.[c] Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."[d] The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.[e]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan.

[a] RHE, 1:481: "tenian ... governador antiguamente puesto por monteçuma."
[b] *ENE*, 8:159.
[c] Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3:179–180.
[d] RHE, 1:480: "son yndios muy sontos yncliados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferent de la mexicana."
[e] See the *proceso* of the *cacique* of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3:209–215.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco"[a] and seventeen leagues from México.[b] As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears eight leagues from Hueyacocotla.[c] It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century.[d]

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca.[e]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiquity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún comments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco.[f] These ruins have only recently been surveyed.[g] Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque,[h] and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atotonilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles**
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**
4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[a] *PNE*, 3: 91.
[b] *PNE*, 1: No. 133.
[c] *GPM*, p. 250.
[d] *PNE*, 1: No. 21.
[e] RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuiquiluca [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."
[f] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.
[g] By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.
[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

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Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary.

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica."

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given."

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica."

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala." Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco." It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work."

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco].

[13]

" Cf. n. 82 below.

" *PNE*, 6: 210, 212.

" *PNE*, 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad fueron gente y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores naturales que llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nezagualcoyotzin, señor de Texcoco, tiranizo toda la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escaputzalco a quien todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montezuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

" *PNE*, 6: 295.

" *PNE*, 6: 297.

" Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

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632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[76] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[77]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[78]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[79] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

[76] RHE, 1: 152.
[77] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.
[78] Cf. n. 82 below.
[79] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

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635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
● 131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Annales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.
[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otra."

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frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize	2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of beans	2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23". The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlycpac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comundmente corronpemos agora aqüel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

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and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[32] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[33]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[34] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[35]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields**[36]

[32] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[33] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[34] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[35] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[36] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl tzotli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

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MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición."[29]

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Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[30] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[31] but cannot be found today.

[29] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principall subjecion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopoalco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

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632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoxtlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[a]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[b] and Yacapichtla.[c] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[d]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[e] and so were the Tlalhuica.[f]

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[a] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman syacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[b] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[c] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimilco."

[d] See pp. 76–77.

[e] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimilco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas corte."

[f] See pp. 76–77.

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Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[a] while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[b]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[c] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[d]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

[a] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[b] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexocingo, Tascala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[c] "Estan las dichas tres cabeçeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[d] RHE, 1: 234: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas calicute questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7.

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[88]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[89]

24. Tlalcoçauhtitlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40r. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
[128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:
103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[90]

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[91]

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[92] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[93]

[88] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[89] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[90] *PNE*, 5: 210.
[91] *GPM*, p. 112.
[92] *PNE*, 5: 250.
[93] *GPM*, p. 104.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[b]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis baxeas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas texcuta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[b] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecoçahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This *Náhua* word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

[323] 16 pieces of colored lacquer
[313] 268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[80]

25. Quiauhteopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 40r, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

63 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[81] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[82]

[131] *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[83] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[80] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[81] *PNE,* 5: 251.
[82] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108r. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[83] *PNE,* 5: 210.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame.

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.[a]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.[a]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles[b]
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

[a] See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

[b] *FNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corruta, porque es de la provincia de Tezcla."

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103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

[712] *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montezuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 191 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

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[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[2] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.

[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles[**]
2 warriors' costumes and shields[*]

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar[**31]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/4] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. Quauhtochco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48r of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Totoltlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montençuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/4 [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17ᵛ of the [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town, [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[33]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[34]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[35] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[36]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauh-197 tochco itself into the Empire.[37] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[38] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlax-131 cala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[791] 400 large mantles**

[33] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170ᵛ, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san juᵒ cuescomatepeque de la jurisdizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[34] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[35] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysteyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305ᵛ, "ystoyuca."

[36] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[37] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[38] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

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FOOD	
20 loads of cacao*	
OTHER GOODS	
1,600 bales of cotton*	

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[m]

28. Cuetlaxtlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[n]

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[o]

[m] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[n] RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[o] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag^{d} hago m^{d} a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^{o} de myctlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

[291] CLOTHING

400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
[237] 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[301] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

[262] FOOD

200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] *RHE*, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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It appears in De Mo-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma,"[a] but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison.[b] A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec.[c] Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
● 131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan,[d] three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan.[e]

632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show.[f] The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there.[g]

632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.
131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages*.—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast.[h] The chief language of the

[a] *PNE*, 4: 60.

[b] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: " ... a la primera vez que ... vine, provei, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

[c] In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

[d] See Yxmatlatlan, below.

[e] *PNE*, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

[f] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[g] "E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra." (*PNE*, 4: 62).

[h] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecian al patrimonio del rey de Tezcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

½ [i.e., Chinantlan.— Analyst]

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province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items:

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
1 gold shield*
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sujuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyecatzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
** Also from Ucila.

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REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18') with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[b]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[b]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[b]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[c]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[d]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

[b] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81 identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

[c] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chilteepintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4] 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6] 635 175

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Toltecs-Chichimecs* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

32. YOALTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32]

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Motecçuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.[29]

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso,[30] may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çila-cajoapa."[31]

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

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Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days.[32] It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca,[33] which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca)[34] and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala.[35] Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century,[36] is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns,[37] beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja.[38] Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

[29] See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.
[30] *PNE,* 5: 238.
[31] *PNE,* 5: 238; *GPM,* p. 20. Its estancias were called Guastepec and Santa Clara.
[32] *PNE,* 1: No. 810; *GPM,* p. 65; *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[33] *PNE,* 1: No. 810.
[34] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.
[35] *RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.
[36] *PNE,* 1: No. 808.
[37] *PNE,* 4: 158.
[38] *PNE,* 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuidlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

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(subject to Tlaxiaco)[99] and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan."[100] With all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.[101] This lies south of Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of south-lying Cuauhuitlan.[102]

Ychcaatoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."[103]

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec, Izucar, and Youaltepec.[104] "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala.[105] The clearest reference, however, comes from a document dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south of that town.[106]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved from Tecomaixtlahuacan,[107] and the relación of that town[108] tells us it is of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec.[109] The northern part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious reference.[110]

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[99] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.

[100] *GPM*, p. 20; *FNE*, 5: 238.

[101] Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.

[102] Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *FNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nuuyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*FNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*FNE*, 4: 153, adds San Pablo.)

[103] *FNE*, 9: 17.

[104] Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.

[105] I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.

[106] *FNE*, 5: 77: "al sur tiene al pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera dies leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.

[107] Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.

[108] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.

[109] *FNE*, 4: 158.

[110] *FNE*, 5: 78.

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635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 400 large mantles**
714] 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[a]
533] 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[b]

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies
651 and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[c]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[d]

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[a] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1:75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[b] The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[c] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5:56, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daua ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiauan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçébida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

33. Tlapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y esentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian cón mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã	Huitzannola
Ahuacatla	Ocoapan
Amaxac	Xocotla

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[99]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[100]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[101]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[102] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[103]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[104] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[99] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[100] *GPM*, p. 101.
[101] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[102] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[103] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos marittimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[104] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[98]

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[99]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[100] which must be the Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[101] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be "mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Montecuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast.

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[102] and should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the same name on the Río Papagayo.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red ..."[103] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[104] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla-

[98] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[99] *GPM*, p. 106.

[100] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[101] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[102] *GPM*, p. 98.

[103] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Nāhuatl.

[104] *GPM*, p. 27.

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panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[a] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[b]

The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[c] Though the codices are still unexploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[d] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[e] and its identification by Toscano

[a] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schulze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[b] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[c] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[d] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[e] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[28] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[29]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles••
1 warrior's costume and shield•

OTHER GOODS•

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. COAYXTLAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,[30] all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[28] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[29] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[30] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastosca."

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paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," ex- [632]
changed presents with Moctezuma.[89]

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.[90]

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan.[91] This Malinal- [131]
tepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map.[92] It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out,[93] must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma;[94] probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century[95] is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.[96]

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.[97]

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be de- [712]
tailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison town on folio 17r of the *Mendocino*, with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

[89] *PNE*, 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

[90] *PNE*, 5: 75.

[91] See Atlatlaucca, above.

[92] Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

[93] *Códice de Yanhuitlán* (1940).

[94] *PNE*, 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra."

[95] *PNE*, 4: 88.

[96] "El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo passuan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE*, 5: 70).

[97] *PNE*, 4: 95: "Al tiempo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia cauchuchu camiñas, y en tiempo de este lo sujeto Montecçuma."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
175 Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
805 this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,** and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states** to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
400 bundles of loincloths**
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

** *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the westerri limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototeрec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19r) constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[3]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131 ●
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[4] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[5]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli,* between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

[3] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[4] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[5] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[8] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the
131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[9]

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[8] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[9] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1943), 4: 208–213.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [29]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

38. Petlacalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1: 100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Texcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan	Tlaçoxiuhco
Nextitlan	Toyac
Tepechpan	Xaxalpan
Tequemecan	Yopico

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal-manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

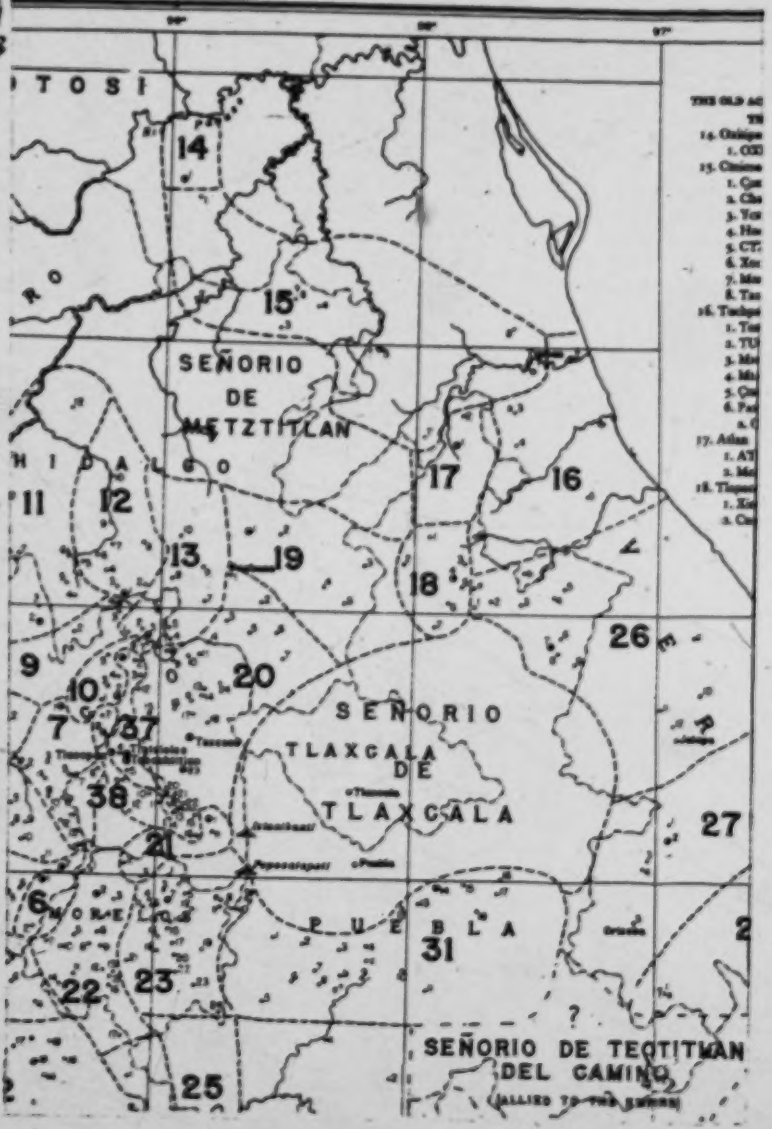
[p. 134 is blank]

131
103

[facing p. 144 (A)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103



[facing p. 144 (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Astec NU7

731
103

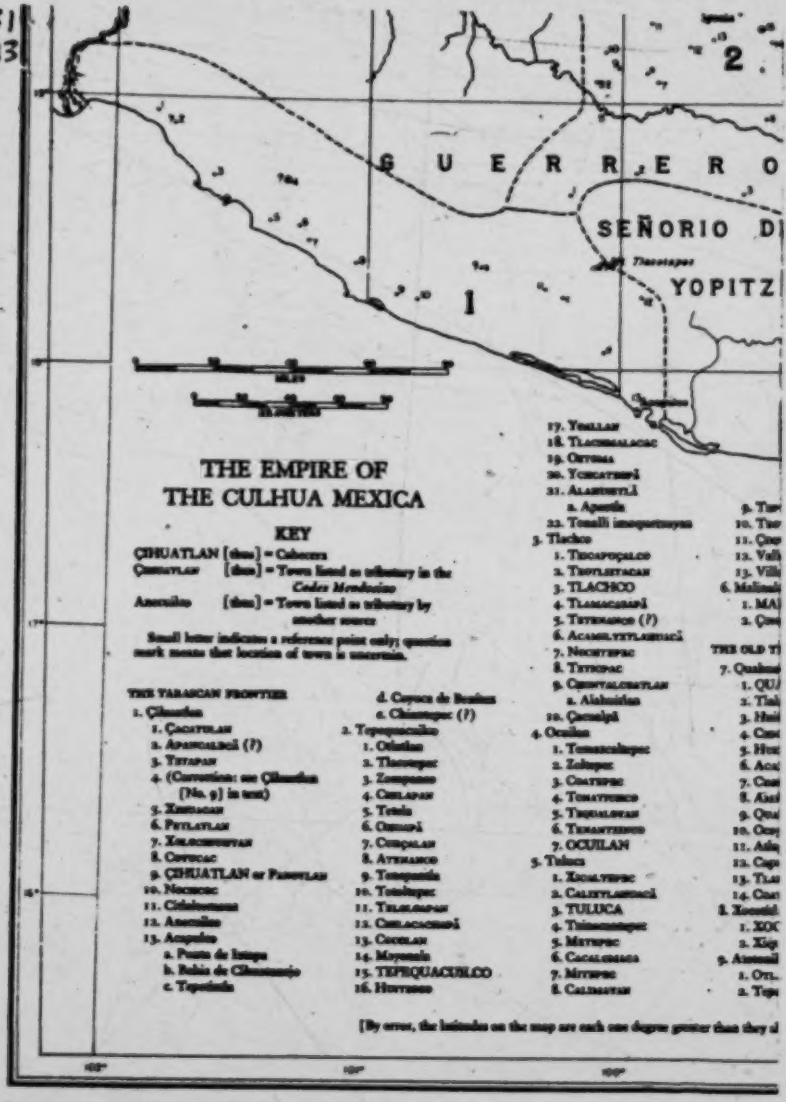
[facing p. 144 (c)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[FACING p. 144 (D)]

131
103



THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

KEY

ÇIHUATLAN [thus] = Cabecera
ÇIHUATLAN [thus] = Town listed as tributary in the *Codex Mendocino*
Axcuitlio [thus] = Town listed as tributary by another source

Small letter indicates a reference point only; question mark means that location of town is uncertain.

THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

1. Çihuatlan
   1. Çacatulan
   2. Apaxcalxcil (?)
   3. Tetapan
   4. (Cuyuxtitan: see Çihuatlan [No. 9] in text)
   5. Xuxtacan
   6. Petlatlan
   7. Xolocuixtitan
   8. Cuyucac
   9. ÇIHUATLAN or Panotlan
   10. Nochixtic
   11. Cihuhuixtitan
   12. Axcuitlio
   13. Acapulco
      a. Punta de Icacpa
      b. Bahía de Chixtamapio
      c. Tepetitlala
   d. Cuyuca de Ixcatlan
   e. Chixtepec (?)
2. Tepequacuilco
   1. Otlatlan
   2. Tlaxcapec
   3. Zompanco
   4. Chilapan
   5. Tetela
   6. Ohuapil
   7. Chiconcal
   8. Atenanco
   9. Tenopantla
   10. Totolapec
   11. Telolotipan
   12. Chilacachapil
   13. Cocolan
   14. Mayanala
   15. TEPEQUACUILCO
   16. Huitzuco
   17. Yohllan
   18. Tlachmalacac
   19. Ottoma
   20. Yeicatzinco
   21. Alahuiztli
      a. Apantla
   22. Tonalli inaquetzayan
3. Tlachco
   1. Tecapoçalco
   2. Teotlixtacan
   3. TLACHCO
   4. Tlamacazapil
   5. Tetzmoco (?)
   6. Acamilxtlahuacl
   7. Nochtepec
   8. Tetzcpac
   9. Chimalcuauhtlan
      a. Alahuiztlan
   10. Çacualpil
4. Ocuilan
   1. Temazcaltepec
   2. Zolotepec
   3. Cuauhtepec
   4. Tonatiuhco
   5. Tequalcuyan
   6. Temamatlauco
   7. OCUILAN
5. Tuluca
   1. Xicaltepec
   2. Calixtlahuacl
   3. TULUCA
   4. Tzinacantepec
   5. Matlatzinco
   6. Cacalomacan
   7. Mitlatzinco
   8. Calimaya

[By error, the latitudes on the map are each one degree greater than they s

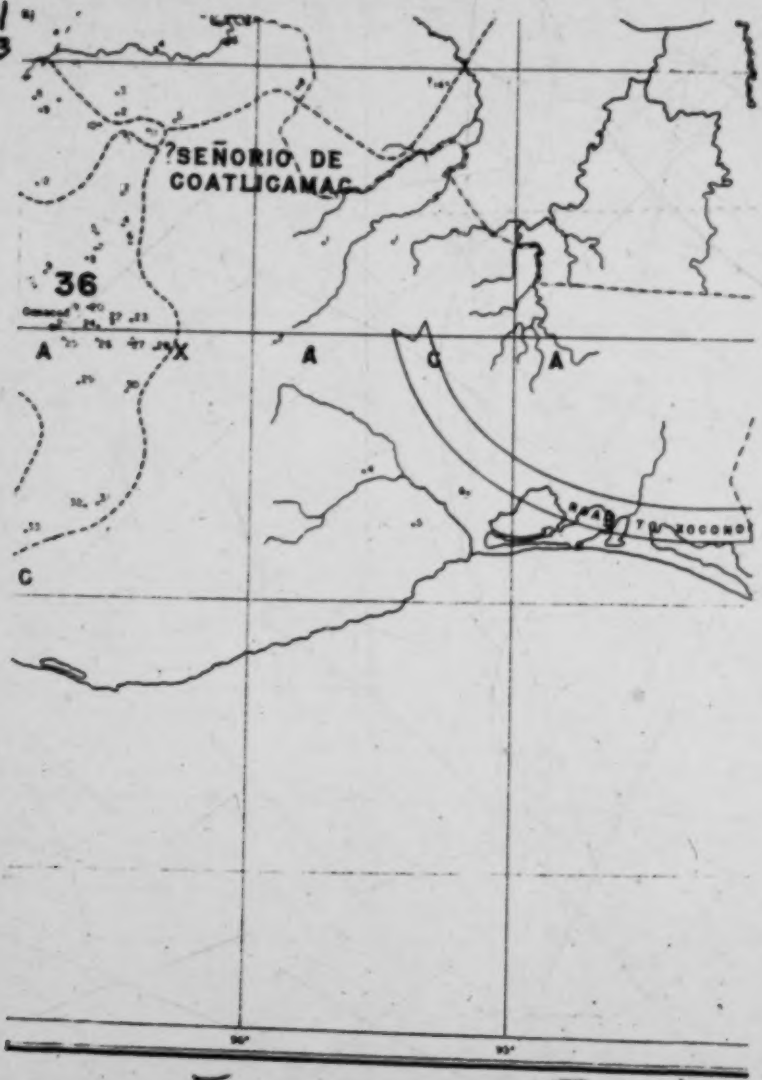
[facing p. 144(E)]

131
103

[facing p. 144(F)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

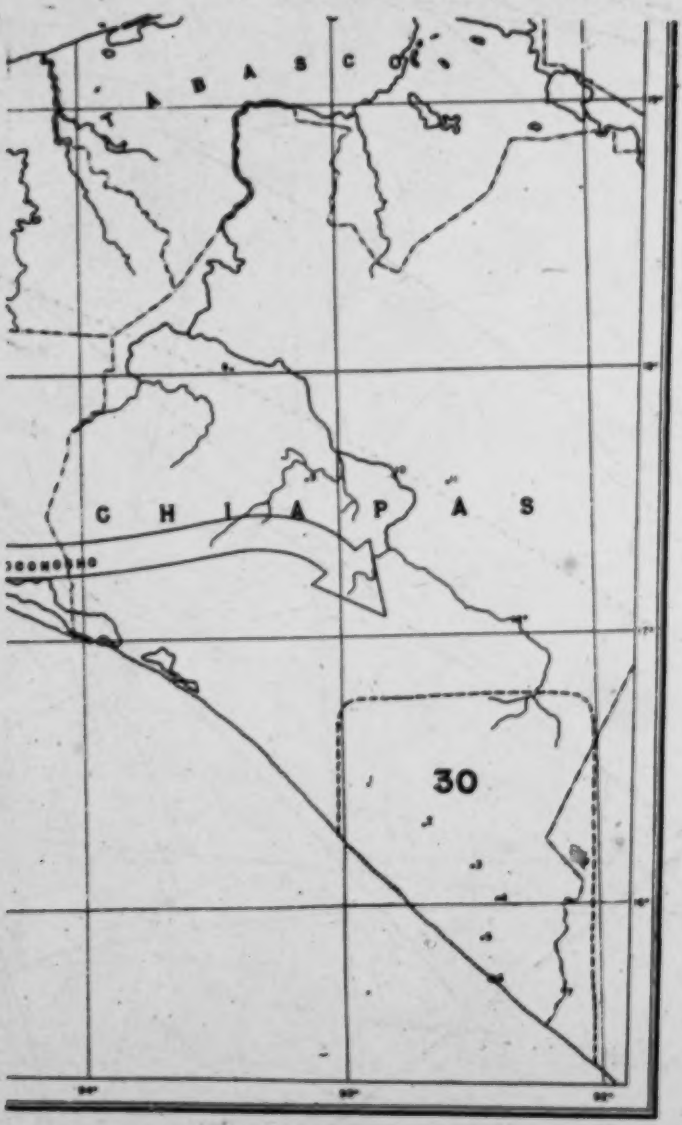
131
103



[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103



[FACING p.144(H)]

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

The objective point of this march was, as we have already 726
stated, the enemy's territory. There was no strict boundary-line [131]
dividing the tribes of Mexico from each other; a belt of uninhabited or deserted land merely surrounded and thus isolated every tribe.[156] This neutral strip was the ground on which the enemy expected the Mexicans (provided they knew of their coming, and felt strong enough to meet them in the open field).[157] It was, therefore, commonly called "ground of war or battle" ("Yaomalli"),[158] and as soon as the Mexican force approached this region, its movements grew less swift and proportionately more cautious. At dusk they halted on this dangerous area, selecting for their encampment, if possible, an elevated, open position, unfavorable for surprise. The huts (and perhaps tents) and bowers, for which some materials had been taken along, were hurriedly

them, Duran positively saying, on the same page, after a lengthy enumeration of the [724]
supplies and provisions prepared for the journey: "lo qual, luego fue en seguimiento "de la gente; lo qual no se proueia sino para el lugar donde se auia de asentar el real, "porque para el camino los pueblos y ciudades proueian de todo lo necessario, etc., "etc., etc." The same author continues (p. 184): "Haciansе seruir como dioses, y en "todos los caminos no parecia gente por donde iban los soldados y la gente de guerra, "todos se encerraban que no osauan andar por los caminos, porque los soldados les "quitaban quanto llevaban en sus cargas, y si acaso le queria defender, los apaleauan "y herian, y algunos mataban y iban robando las sementeras y matando quantas galli-"nas y perillos topaban; iban haciendo quanto mal podian, como lo hacen agora "nuestros españoles, si no los van a' la mano, ... y asi eñ sabiendo que auia "guerra, todos los vecinos de los pueblos, por donde auian de pasar los del exercito, se "escondian y escondian el maiz, el chile, las gallinas y los perros, finalmente escondian "quanto tenian." This shows a very simple mode of subsistance,—they lived upon the country through which they passed. But it also shows the barbarous condition of the Nahuatl tribes. Even on their march through a friendly country from whose annual tribute they partly subsisted, they behaved little better than a large horde of savages, or at least of cut-throats and highway robbers. The "civilized" troops of Europe were little better at that time, and even up to the close of the 17th century.

[156] Gomara ("De las guerras," Vedia, I, p. 442): "They call quiahtiali the space and "area which they left depopulated between the boundaries of each province for to fight "there, and it is like unto sacred." See Tezozomoc (Cap. LXVIII, p. 113; cap. LXXXVI, p. 151; cap. XCV, p. 167, etc., etc.). The delegates sent by Tlaxcallan, Huexotzinco, and Cholula, to assist at the festivals in Mexico, were always met "half way in the woods" ("la mitad del monte") separating the tribes. Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques," Cap. XXXIII, p. 123) mentions a boundary line between the territories of Mexico and Tezcuco, but the description of it is such that the statement remains more than doubtful.

[157] Torquemada (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 538): "Quando se admitia la Batalla, y venian "los unos, contra los otros, salian los de la Provincia, o' Pueblo a' un lugar particular, "que tenian entre sus terminos los quales llamaban Yauhtialli, que quiere decir; Ter-"mino o' Lugar de la Guerra. Aqui salian los Proprietarios de la Tierra a' recibir a los "contrarios." Also, Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 442).

[158] From "yauti," enemy, or "yaoyotl," battle or war, and "tialli," ground or soil.

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

that all the tribes of Mexico, issuing from a common stock, speaking the "Nahuatl" tongue, and living under the same geographical influences,[17] had reached an almost identical state of culture. Therefore the result of our investigations of the landed tenure among the Mexican tribe proper, can safely be assumed as applicable to all the other sedentary tribes of (the valley of) Mexico.[18]

While thus horticultural tribes had secured the fertile portions of that valley, dividing its expanse among themselves, and separated by unoccupied "neutral" soil,[19]—a small band of their own linguistical relationship was moving down from the North, and ultimately made its appearance in their midst. Those were the *Mexicans* proper, also called "*Aztecas Mexitin*," "*Aztlantlacas*" or "*Mexica*."[20] This band was composed of Seven Kinships "lineages," whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole, a head war-chief, elected for life, directed their movements, but

[17] The difference between the valley tribes and those of the Tlaxcaltecan mountain country, is not even very great. It is in fact but apparent. From the nature of the soil, the kinships of Tlaxcallan were more scattered in location, and therefore were apparently democratic. The same was the case among the Niquirans of Nicaragua. See Oviedo (Lib. XLII, cap. I, pp. 37 and 38), and E. G. Squier. ("Nicaragua," Vol. II. "Aborigines of Nicaragua," cap. II, p. 340-348).

[18] Otherwise the confederacy, on equal terms, existing between the valley-tribes for more than a century previous to the conquest, and of which we shall hereafter treat, could not have been formed, neither could it have subsisted. The fact, however, that all the old chroniclers mention the tribes of Mexico under one common head, and describe their customs, as, in the main, identical,—proves that we can safely assume the Mexicans as typical in that respect. Some tribes were more advanced in certain mechanical arts than others,—but the difference was merely one of details, and not of organic principles.

[19] See "Art of War," p. 135. The boundary line mentioned by Ixtlilxochitl (Histoire des Chichimèques," cap. XXXIII, p. 125), and also by Veytia (Cap. III of Book III. p. 167 of 3rd volume) if, as the latter asserts, it ever really existed, did not divide so much the territory of the tribes, but rather the range over which each one might freely extend, after the formation of the confederacy. Sr. Veytia contends that the remnants of it were still visible at his time, and carried the name "albarrada de los indios."

[20] "Art of War," p. 96, note 1. We have alluded to the common appellation of "Chichimecas." Sahagun (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, p. 147), says: "properly they call themselves Atlacachichimeca, or fishermen that have come from distant lands." This would be a corroboration, to some extent, of Torquemada's assertion (Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 93) that the Mexicans introduced the art of fishing in the Mexican valley. We cannot help being struck by the prefixum, "Atlaca." If it decomposes into "Atl," water, and "tlacatl," man, it assigns to the Mexicans an original abode in the neighborhood of the sea, or of very large water-courses. Tezozomoc, in his first chapter, speaking of Aztlan, whence the Mexicans are said to have emigrated, and from which word the name of "Aztecs" is derived, says: "They had in this land and the *lagunes* thereof . . . ." (p. 5). Aztlan itself means "place of the heron," which is an aquatic bird. (See also Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91). He places "Aztlan" towards the extreme north.